Hutterites are a German-speaking Anabaptist group that emerged in Europe during the Reformation. Led by Jacob Hutter, from whom they took their name, they believed that the true practice of Christianity required them to follow the instruction of the New Testament’s Acts 2:41-47 and Acts 4:32-37 that they hold all things in common and live communally (Hofer 1982, 2) As Protestants and pacifists they endured persecution across Europe as they migrated in search of a refuge, eventually immigrating into the United States in 1874 where they settled in South Dakota, grouping themselves into three leute: the Schmeideleut, Dariusleut and Leherleut (see The Chronicle of the Hutterite Brethren Vols. I and II). After the United States entered the war against Germany and Austria in 1917 Hutterites were again persecuted for their refusal to bear arms and because they were German-speaking people. In 1918, they again migrated, north to Alberta and Manitoba in Canada, where they established six colonies. Fueled by a very high birth rate these initial six colonies multiplied into some 478 colonies now scattered across Canada’s Prairie Provinces and the northern states of the American Plains.

Communal living as practiced by Hutterites has become the model for many other groups that attempted to establish communal agrarian societies (Zablocki 1973). With the collapse of the Soviet Union in 1991 the kholkoz disappeared; Chinese agricultural communes lasted scarcely forty years, and even the Israel Kibbutzim are disintegrating after little more than a hundred years. The Hutterite bruderhof in North America has outlasted all its secular and religious counterparts and is a rare example of a communal agricultural operation that still thrives. There is an extensive literature devoted to the study of the Hutterites that documents the details of their history in North America, their social organization and agricultural operations (see for example, Peter 1965; Hostetler 1974; Ryan 1977; Hofer 1998; Katz and Lehr 1999; Kraybill and Bowman 2001; Esau 2004; Katz and Lehr 2007; Kirby 2007; Hofer, R., 2009; Lehr and Katz 2010).

There is, however, one Hutterite colony outside North America about which relatively little is known outside of Hutterite society. This is the Christian Community of New Hutterian Brethren at Owa (Hofer J., 2009; The Chronicle of the Hutterite Brethren 2003 Vol. I, 808-809). This paper, based on a visit to this colony in August 2009, describes its establishment, reviews its operation and assesses its future as a viable social and agricultural community.

Owa Hutterite Colony is not easy to find. It is located several kilometers from the village of Owa, which lies several kilometers west of the small town of Kurobane, itself an out-of-the-way place, about 160 kilometers north of Tokyo (Figure 1). The colony is nestled on a wooded hillside at the head of a remote valley and is scarcely visible from the track that winds through the rice paddies on the valley floor (Figure 2). It is unlikely that a casual traveler would stumble across it on a sightseeing trip to Japan.

Japan’s population is mostly Shinto or Buddhist, although a small minority is Christian. One of the denominations within this small Christian community is the United Church of Christ in the Koryama district north of Tokyo. Inspired by the example

John C. Lehr
University of Winnipeg, Winnipeg, Manitoba, Canada
j.lehr@uwinnipeg.ca

Abstract

There are over 480 Hutterite Colonies in North America and one in Japan. This Japanese colony was established in 1972 by a group of Christian Japanese families wanting to practice communal living. This paper describes the process of establishing the Owa colony and explains its relationship with the Dariusleut. Its agricultural economy is contrasted to that of a typical colony in North America. A review of the difficulties of maintaining Christian communal living in a nation that is predominantly Buddhist and Shinto concludes the paper.

Keywords: Hutterites, Japan, Communal settlement, Dariusleut, Owa
of the long-standing Buddhist commune of Itto-En, near Kyoto, some members of the United Church of Christ resolved to emulate it and in the 1960s began making plans to practice communal living.

Communal living is a part of Buddhist tradition; communal groups called jikkenchi, or “places to realize principles” have long practiced communal living in central Japan. In the past, three or four hundred years ago, these were not uncommon. Many villages practiced co-operative agriculture and some practiced communal living to a greater or lesser degree, for example, Shirakawa-go (now a World Heritage Site) is a village where extended families of up to forty people formerly lived together in large dwellings (Figure 3) (Kinda 2009).

When Itto-En was established near Kyoto in 1905 true communal living in Japan was resurrected. Followed Itto-En’s establishment, other communes were established at Atarashki Village and Shorrokshinto-Yamatoyma in 1918 and1920 respectively. Today, one of Japan’s largest communal groups is the Buddhist Yamagishi-kai community of 400 members, founded in 1956 in Toyosoto, Mie Prefecture, not far from Kyoto. Thirty-two other Yamagishi jikkenchi scattered around Japan have a further 400 members (Spiri 2008). There are other communal groups in Japan but although a few of the larger communes have between two and three hundred members, most have less than fifty, and many have ten or fewer members. Tamagawa commune near Tokyo, for example, has a mere ten members, Araksa in Shiga Prefecture has eight and Mogura Group in Shiga Prefecture has only four members (Kusakari et al. 1977, 231-235). Most of the communes’ economies are agricultural, based principally on poultry, rice and vegetable production, although Itto-En operates several companies engaged in agricultural research, construction and printing (Brumann 1996, 178). In their socio-economic organization, they range from true communes along the lines of the Israeli kibbutzim where members pool all their resources and receive only according to their needs, to co-operative communities based on the Israeli moshavim where members farm co-operatively but live independently in economically and spatially discrete family units (Kusakari et al. 1977, 231).

Owa’s founders wished to establish a communal society modeled after the Buddhist Itto-En commune but based on Christian principles. Unlike Itto-En’s philosophy of spiritual enlightenment through zen-like revelation the objective of Owa’s founders was to practice true Christian values in every facet of everyday life. (Kusakari et al., 1977, 54) Owa’s founders had no wish to engage in a spiritual quest in the Buddhist sense, as they already had their answer in Anabaptist Christianity, but they wished to enact Christian teachings that extolled humility,
equality, sharing, compassion, and pacifism. They began communal living in the 1950s in Koryama City, living together in the church headed by their leader, the Reverend Isomi Izeki. The founders of the community came from all occupations and included a farmer, truck driver, electrician, a typist and a teacher. All continued to work in their regular jobs outside their commune and membership in the group fluctuated (Hofer 1985, 66; The Chronicle of the Hutterite Brethren Vol. I 2003, 808-809).

Lacking a model for the practical organization of religious communal life, they first considered organizing themselves along the lines of the Israeli Kibbutz. When Reverend Izeki visited Israel to study the kibbutzim, he realized that the Kibbutzim’s secular philosophy made them unsuitable as a model for a Christian community. Library research led them to Christian Anabaptist societies and eventually to knowledge of the Hutterites (Kikuta J. 2009).

Izeki made initial contact with the Hutterites through the Dariusleut colony of Wilson in southern Alberta. Why Wilson Colony, one of the most conservative of the Dariusleut, served as Izeki’s conduit into Hutterite life is uncertain. It is possible that happenstance led Reverend Izeki to visit the senior minister of the Dariusleut, who was then Wilson Colony’s minister. Regardless, on the basis of this initial contact, Owa Colony belongs to the Dariusleut of the Hutterian Brethren, even though much subsequent contact has been with the Schmiedeleut and the present model for their organization and rules of behavior owes more to the more liberal Schmiedeleut than the leut to which they are nominally tied (Hutterite Telephone Directories 2003-2009).

Following the Hutterite model of communities based on agriculture, the group first sought land locally, but then decided on Owa, about 160 kilometers north of Tokyo (Figure 1). With financial assistance from Wilson Colony, in 1972 they purchased two and a half hectares of wooded hillside land and established a colony of five people. In 1971 the colony had nineteen members, four men, 11 women and four children (Hofer 1985, 69). It reached its maximum population in 1981 when it had about thirty members. In 1985 it had 22 members; by 1986 there were 25 members; in 1989 there were twenty-four (The Chronicle of the Hutterite Brethren Vol. I 2003, 808-809). Since then numbers have continued to decline. As children grew up and married, they left the colony, although two children of colony members still live nearby and visit regularly. When the father of the Hashimoto family, a founding member, passed away, his six children left the colony. Today there are only nine colony members, only seven of whom (one male and six females) actually live on the colony; one member resides in a local personal care home and the other, who is 89 years old, is ill and in hospital. The youngest member is now 28 years old and the last marriage of a colony member was in 1989 (Kikuta M. 2009). The demographic outlook for Owa Colony is grim.

**Farming**

Owa Colony has only two and a half hectares of land purchased with financial aid from Alberta Hutterites. Although it is located in an area where rice is the principal crop, and rice is grown in adjacent fields, colony property lies entirely on a hillside so they “grow everything except rice” (Kikuta J. 2009).

The colony is essentially self-sufficient, growing a wide range of crops for their own use and sale. Wheat, soy beans, potatoes, sweet potatoes, grapes, persimmons, onions, raspberries, apples, peaches, kiwi, plums, oranges, tomatoes, carrots, walnuts, sweet chestnuts, watermelons are all grown principally for their own use, although surplus fruit is sold to local merchants. Formerly buckwheat was grown but lack of labour forced the colony to discontinue planting it.

The colony buys its rice from local farmers and sends its wheat off-colony for milling and for processing into noodles. Using their own flour, they bake bread daily in the colony’s outdoor oven, which in design and size resembles the traditional eastern-European outdoor oven. Apart from purchasing rice, fish and condiments the colony is self-sufficient in foodstuffs, and even makes its own plum wine (Kikuta M. 2009). Perhaps the colony’s greatest natural asset is a fresh-water spring that gives a constant supply of potable water to the colony on a year-round basis (Figure 4). The colony thus does not need to purchase water for drinking or irrigation.

In the 1970s, to obtain capital for colony development, Owa accepted contract work assembling television components on the colony. They discontinued the practice by 1977 because the deadlines imposed by the company interfered with colony life.

Owa Colony members pay taxes on their income but because their cash flow is quite low and “because we earn very little,” taxes are low (Kikuta J. 2009). Their principal source of income is from the sale of eggs (Figure 5). The colony now has about 800 chickens, all layers, 200 of which are pullets. This about a third of the number raised when the colony was at its maximum size; lack of labour now makes it difficult to manage a larger chicken operation and the colony does not seem to need additional income as its financial needs are now quite modest. Eggs are sold in the Tokyo market. Apart from the chickens and

**Figure 4:** Owa’s spring. (Photo J. Lehr)
a colony dog, there are no animals. The colony’s goat died a few years ago and was not replaced. (Kikuta M. 2009).

The scale of poultry operations at Owa stands in sharp contrast to operations found on most North American Hutterite colonies where the number of chickens is measured in thousands rather than hundreds. Similarly, North American colonies cultivate thousands of hectares. In Manitoba, for example, a typical colony would have a vegetable garden of about fifteen hectares, about three times the area of the entire Owa Colony (Ryan 1977), and cultivates another 2500 to 4000 hectares in cereal crops (Hofer J. 2009). There are vast differences in the scale of operations between the agricultural operations of Owa and those of North American colonies, yet both hold a similar philosophy towards mechanization. Owa mechanizes where it is practical but their chicken operation is too small to warrant a mechanized approach.

Like their counterparts in North America, the Owa Hutterites eagerly use modern technology. The colony has a telephone, fax machine, refrigerator, freezer, and washing machine. It uses agricultural equipment to reduce physical labour, such as a back-hoe, tractor, rotor-tiller and small threshing machine (Figure 6). They purchased their first small tractor in the early 1970s with assistance from New Dale Colony in Alberta (Hofer 1985). They now possess three small rotor-tillers, a medium-sized tractor, a small pickup truck, two sub-compact automobiles and a small caterpillar-tracked thresher. In August 2009, a small caterpillar-tracked back-hoe was also stored in the machine shed.

**Colony Life**

In its physical layout, Owa Colony shares many of the characteristics of a North American colony. Residential buildings are arranged in a loose square and the agricultural buildings are placed separately from the houses and communal dining area (Figures 7 and 8). Along one side of the square, a large two-story building houses the kitchen and dining room on the ground floor and residential quarters and open work area on the second floor. At the top of the square are two two-storey houses and a building housing the Minister’s residence, guesthouse and colony church (Figure 9). Opposite the kitchen, on the far side of the square, are non-residential buildings: store rooms for feed and so forth. At the base of the square is a building that holds the colony bake-oven, an office and an egg-sorting facility.

In Owa’s early days, attitudes reflected the austere views of the conservative Dariusleut colonies. Colony members are more familiar with Hutterite, particularly Dariusleut, norms than might be expected, since many of the founding members visited Dariusleut colonies in Alberta while planning to live communally. Several members lived for extended periods in Alberta colonies, including Wilson Colony, their point of first contact. Subsequently others visited colonies in other leute; the present minister’s wife spent two years in Canada, living on colonies in Alberta and Manitoba, including spending several months...
on James Valley (Schmiedeleut) Colony near Elie in Manitoba (Hofer J. 2009; Kikuta 2009).

As in all Hutterite colonies in Canada and the United States, Owa Colony members eat together in the colony’s dining hall but the minister and his family do not eat separately from other colony members, as is the Hutterite norm, because of the colony’s small population (Figure 10). Similarly, its low membership means that the colony functions essentially as a large single-family unit rather than as a full multi-family colony.

Owa members pattern their clothing on traditional Hutterite garb but do not follow it exactly (Figure 11). When the author visited Owa Colony in August 2009, the minister wore a store-bought short-sleeved shirt and dark trousers. He did not wear a hat as is usual on North American colonies (Figure 12). Women wore simple homemade dresses in the Hutterite style or, for work, trousers and a blouse. The minister’s wife explained that Hutterite women’s clothes were not practical for working in the fields, although North American Hutterite women work in the colony gardens without any such accommodation in dress. In Owa the traditional Hutterite women’s polka-dotted headscarf is no longer worn, although it was when the colony was established. Working outside, women wear a large bonnet that gives protection from the sun. The injunction against wearing wristwatches did not seem to apply although colony members wore no other adornment. Minister Kikuta wore a wristwatch, something that would never be seen on a North American Dari-

Figure 8: Map of Owa Colony.

Figure 9: Colony from the church. (Photo J. Lehr)

Figure 10: Owa Colony dining room. (Photo J. Lehr)

Figure 11: Owa Colony member. (Photo J. Lehr)
usleut colony and rarely, if ever, on a Schmiedeleut colony. It is not clear whether these deviations from Hutterite norms were a result of a new spirit of liberalism within the colony, an adjustment to the colony’s gender imbalance, which requires women to undertake work ordinarily performed by men, or simply lack of reinforcement resulting from infrequent exposure to the example of Hutterite mainstream practices.

When Owa Colony was established, there was greater adherence to the Hutterite dress code. Photographs taken in Owa in the 1970s indicate that colony members’ dress was virtually indistinguishable from North American Hutterite clothing. Women wore polka-dotted headscarves and traditional style dresses while males wore Hutterite-style hats and jackets (see Hofer 1985, 96-100). Although the “dress-code” of the Hutterites in North America has evolved over the years and, particularly among the Schmiedeleut, has become more flexible, members of Owa have deviated significantly from the North American model. Women wearing trousers, for example, would be unthinkable on any North American colony but it is routine in Owa (Figure 13).

Members of the Owa Colony now display a pragmatic approach to some of the behavioral rules that the conservative parent colony of Wilson observes. For example, attitudes to photography are completely different. Wilson Colony recently lost an appeal to the Supreme Court of Canada that they be exempted from the requirement to have photographs on driver’s licenses or passports, arguing to do so impinged on their religious freedom, since the Bible enjoined against making graven images. They interpret photographs as such. Few Hutterites now share this sentiment and most accept the need for photographs for identification purposes; others see no reason for any prohibition as long as the photograph is not an expression of hubris. Attitudes vary as much within the colonies of each leut as they do between the three leute. Owa members openly display family photographs, particularly of their children and grandchildren living off the colony. When questioned about this one member laughingly acknowledged that Wilson Colony would not approve of their attitude towards photographs but that Wilson would not approve of many of the practices of Owa Colony that she thought to be quite appropriate for Hutterite society. Although some of the liberal Group I Schmiedeleut colonies in Manitoba and the Dakotas permit access to computers and use of the Internet for educational purposes, none would countenance the presence of a television and DVD player in the dining room, as is the case in Owa (Figure 10). Even liberal Schmiedeleut leaders still generally frown on radios and televisions for entertainment.

On most Hutterite colonies in North America, church services are held every day, usually around six o’clock, immediately before the evening meal. At Owa there is only one service a week, on Sunday at ten o’clock in the morning, held in the colony church (built in 1983 with assistance from Canadian Hutterites), which can accommodate forty or fifty people (Figure 14). The greatest difference between Owa Colony and the North American colonies is in the education of its children. In Canada and the United States Hutterite children remain on the colony for their schooling. Certified teachers come to the colony rather than children leaving the colony to attend a public school where they would mix with other non-Hutterite pupils. This strategy enables the colony to reduce contact with the outside and buffer their youth from the influences of the secular world while fulfilling requirements that the state or provincial curriculum be followed. To make this economically feasible, more than two or three pupils are required. Lacking sufficient numbers of children, Owa Colony never established its own school but sent its children to the local public school, where they did not have an

Figure 12: Owa Colony’s minister and wife with colony member. (Photo J. Lehr)

Figure 13: Owa member outside chicken barn. (Photo J. Lehr)
Continuity and Survival

Owa Colony illustrates the difficulty of maintaining communal life without a self-sustaining critical mass of population. A certain size of population is necessary to permit intermarriage within the group without genetic inbreeding. This has long been a concern of the Hutterites who entered into communal life in North America with a far greater population and more extensive genetic base. Even today they go to some lengths to reduce the chance of inbreeding. They forbid marriage between cousins and discourage marriage between second cousins. Most marriages are between individuals from different colonies within each leut, a practice that widens the genetic pool somewhat.

In its early days Owa Colony members had hopes of it becoming a self-sustaining colony from a demographic perspective, although in the opinion of some Canadian Hutterites this would require a population of at least three hundred. In its early years the membership included several families and the colony had several members of child-bearing age. Children born into the colony were hailed as its future and some intra-colony marriage was anticipated. This did not occur. All of those born into the colony married outside the community. Their spouses were reluctant to enter into communal life thus depriving the colony of a new generation of members and dooming it to a slow death by attrition. It was unlikely that members would find wives and husbands on the colony and it was not genetically desirable that they should do so in the long term. Thus those wishing to marry had to do so off the colony, generally within the small Christian community in the surrounding rural districts. All those who did so remained off the colony. They often continue as members of the Hutterite Church, remain in close contact with their families on the colony, and contribute their labour to the colony when needed, but they do not live on the colony or practice community of goods. In fact, six adult children live locally outside the colony and come back to help with farming operations when they are able. Without an infusion of new recruits the small community of Owa does not have any realistic hope of becoming a stand-alone community from a demographic perspective.

Moving off Owa Colony to live in the wider community is relatively easy for members. There is no distinction of ethnicity or language between the Owa Colony members and their Buddhist, Shinto or Christian neighbours. The only distinction is in clothing and belief. For Hutterites in North America, to leave the colony is more difficult because they are distinguished by accent, clothing, by Hutterite family names and, most importantly, by values and attitudes inculcated since birth. Although many young Hutterites in North America leave their colony to experience the outside world many later return to marry within the community and to commit themselves to communal life. (Hofer D. 2009) The greatest threat to Hutterite solidarity is the influence of evangelical Christianity, which promises salvation without communal living. The loss of individual non-baptized members is far less serious than wholesale defections of entire families, when almost half a colony apostatizes and leaves (Hofer R. 2009)

Shortly after the establishment of Owa Colony, there was dissent over its governance, principally about whether to adopt a conservative or a modernistic approach to colony operation and management. Kaitzumi Tamura pushed for a modern approach and became increasingly impatient with the cautious approach taken by the Reverend Izeki, the colony’s First Minister. Frustrated, Tamura and his family left the colony. The loss of five members, including three children, was a serious setback. After their departure the colony gained some new members and one child was born into it, bringing its membership in 1985 up to 22, including eight children (Hofer 1985, 70).

Without an infusion of new blood the Owa Colony is destined for extinction within a generation, if not earlier. Attracting recruits from Japan’s small Christian community would not seem to be a realistic prospect. As Owa’s minister remarked, “they [Japanese Christians] have their own churches and are not interested in communal life” (Kikuta J. 2009). In many ways Owa’s demographic situation mirrors that of modern Japan, which suffers from low fertility, a declining birth rate and an aging population. Like the nation, which needs immigration from outside its borders to maintain a balanced demographic profile, the colony needs immigration from outside if it is to arrest decline. In both cases immigration poses complex issues of adjustment, adaptation and acceptance.

Japanese society is still remarkably homogenous and does not easily assimilate newcomers from other backgrounds. Similarly Owa has attracted members only from the limited pool of Japanese Protestants. If Owa is to rejuvenate, which it must do if it is to survive, it must attract new members. If these cannot be found in Japan, the colony must look to Protestant Christian communities outside Japan. A potential source of new members lies in the Philippines which, although predominantly a Roman Catholic nation, has a sizable Protestant population, some of whom are Anabaptist, and many are experienced agriculturalists anxious to immigrate into first-world countries. Furthermore, it is questionable whether the Owa Colony would accept Filipino members whose motivation for moving into colony life might be partly material and whose commitment to the principle of community of goods might not withstand the blandishments of material prosperity outside the colony. On the other hand non-Japanese members might find it difficult to move off the colony into mainstream Japanese society where social acceptance is notoriously difficult to achieve. Experience of defection from colonies in North America suggests that those who choose to leave the community seldom make a direct transition to life on the outside. In most cases they move into a similar kind of cloistered society, most often one that promises spiritual fulfillment without communal life. In North America, fundamentalist charismatic Christian sects proselytize among Hutterites and offer a transition from the protected world of the colony into the wider community. In Japan this would not likely to be the case, so there is reason to believe that members recruited from outside...
the country would remain on the colony and thus constitute a new base for its expansion.

Another potential source of members is south Korea and the small Korean Christian community in Toronto, where a number of families bent on communal life have recently contacted and visited Manitoba Hutterites to learn about the Hutterite approach to community of goods (Hofer J. 2009; Murphy 2009). Crossing the cultural divide could be problematic: most likely potential communards would prefer to organize as an ethnically homogenous group so the prospects for attracting new members from any source appears remote.

Conclusion

It seems clear that Owa colony will slowly atrophy as its members age and cease to be able to work. Other communes in Japan, longer established than Owa, have seen their membership numbers fluctuate but overall their total membership has not declined significantly. They have access to a potential pool of members numbering in the millions, even if only a tiny proportion are attracted to communal life it is enough to secure their economic future. The Owa Christian Community of New Hutterian Brethren, however, differs fundamentally from other forms of communal life in Japan. Most, if not all, other Japanese communes, whether Buddhist, Shinto or secular, were established to seek enlightenment through pursuit of an aesthetic way of life based on a “philosophy of nothingness, penitence, selflessness, love, service communality and peace.” (Kusakari et al. 1977, 57). Owa Colony, on the other hand, sought to offer an opportunity to practice accepted Christian values, as expressed in the Hutterite Confessions of Faith, to Christians who had already found their salvation. In other words, the commune is the pathway whereas the colony is the destination. Owa offers opportunity for Christian communal life in Japan but North American Hutterites do not see it as their responsibility to maintain it at all costs. As one Hutterite questioned, “what is the point, if no one wants it?” This makes it extremely unlikely that Owa would actively recruit beyond the Japanese Anabaptist community and even less likely that the North American colonies would offer it anything more than financial aid and moral support. Owa is open to those Japanese who wish to join and live in community of goods but its role is not to persuade them to do so simply to keep the colony alive.

References


HOFER, D. 2009 Interview, James Valley Colony 23 July (Danny Hofer is a member of the James Valley Colony who as a teenager left colony life for two years)

HOFER, J. 1982 The History of the Hutterites Elie (Manitoba: James Valley Book Centre)

HOFER, J. 1985 Japanische Hutterer: Ein Besuch bei der Owa Gemeind/ Japanese Hutterites: A Visit to Owa Community (Elie, Manitoba: James Valley Book Centre)

HOFER, J. 2009 Interviews, 25 July and 26 September (The Reverend Hofer is the First Minister of James Valley Hutterite Colony, Elie, Manitoba)

HOFER, R. 2009 Removing the Hutterite Kerchief (Kelowna: Okanagan Institute Independent Publishing Collegium)

HOFER, S. 1998 The Hutterites: Lives and Images of Communal People (Saskatoon: Hofer Publishers)


JAMES VLLEY 2009 Hutterite Telephone Directory (Elie, Manitoba: James Valley Colony)

KATZ, Y. and LEHR, J. 1999 The Last Best West: Essays on the Historical Geography of Western Canada (Jerusalem: The Magnes Press of the University of Jerusalem)

KATZ, Y. and LEHR, J. 2007 By Their Faith Shall They Live: The Hutterite Colonies in North America 1874-2006 (Ramat Efal, Israel: Yad Tabenkin, The Research and Documentation Center of the Kibbutz Movement) [In Hebrew]

KIKUTA, J. 2009 Interview 16 August, Owa Colony (The Reverend Kikuta is the Minister of Owa Colony)

KIKUTA, M. 2009 Interview 16 August, Owa Colony (Mrs. Kikuta is the wife of the Minister)

KINDA, A. 2009 Interview, Kyoto, Japan, 26 August (Dr. Kinda is Director of the Japan Integrated Cultural Institute, Tokyo, and Professor Emeritus, Kyoto University)

KIRBY, M.A. 2007 I am Hutterite (Prince Albert: Polka Dot Press)


MURPHY, P. 2009 Interview, James Valley Colony, Elie Manitoba 26 September (Patrick is a member of James Valley Colony)

PETERS, V. 1965 All Things Common: the Hutterian Way of Life (Toronto: Copp Clarke)

RYAN, J. 1977 The Agricultural Economy of Manitoba Hutterite Colonies (The Carlton Library No.101, Toronto: McClelland and Stewart)

SPIRI, J. 2008 ‘Whatever happened to Yamagishi?’ JAPAN TIMES, January 15


ZABLOCKI, B. 1973 The Joyful Community (Baltimore: Penguin)
Acknowledgements

This research would not have been possible without the assistance of several people. Ray Pedersen’s assistance with the visit to Owa Colony, providing both transportation and interpretation services, was invaluable. Kay Lehr took copious notes during interviews with members of the Owa Colony. The Reverend John Hofer, Minister of James Valley Colony, Elie, Manitoba, kindly provided me with a letter of introduction to the Reverend Kikuta, Minister of Owa Colony. I thank them all. Finally, I extend my thanks to the members of Owa Colony for their warm welcome and generous hospitality.